## MR. BLAINE'S BOOK.

A CRITICAL REVIEW BY HON. GEORGE C. GORHAM.

The Features of "Twenty Years of Congress" Discussed-Congress During Grant's Administration, and the Great Political Events of That

## [Copyright, 1885.]

PART II. Mr. Blaine tells us that when the Republicar national convention met in May, 1879, the nora ination of Gen. Graut "had for months beer clearly foreshadowed and universally ac cepted by the Republican party. At an earlier stage there had been an effort to direct public pronounced political views; but public senti-ment pointed so unistakably and [rresistib]; to Gen. Grant that this effort was found to be ess, and was speedily abandoned."

GRANT'S POLITICAL VIEWS.

Men there were who were more distinctlevely party chiefs, for Grant was only an ardent patriot and a great soldier. He had said
in July, 1864, in a letter to I. N. Morris:

"I am not a politician, never was, and nope
never to be, and could not write a political
letter. My only desire is to serve the country
in her present trials. To do this efficiently it
is necessary to have the confidence of the army
and the people. I know no way to better secure this end than by a faithful performance
of my duties. So long as I hold my present
position, I do not believe that I have the right
to criticise the policy or orders of those above
me, or give utterance to views of my own except to the authorities at Washington through
the general-in-chief of the army. In this respect I know I have proven myself a good
soldier.

"In your letter you say that I have it in my GRANT'S POLITICAL VIEWS.

spect I know I have proven myself a good solder.

"In your letter you say that I have it in my power to be the next Prosident. Tais is the last thing in the world I desire. "It scarcely know the inducement that could be held out to me to accept office, and unnesstatingly say that I infinitely prefer my present position to that of any civil office within the aft of the people."

But none there were "who held more pronounced helitical view," on the great questions which the civil war had left for sattlement. Mr. Blaine truly says of him that this enthusiasm for Gen. Grant, rested notonly upon fractitude for his military services, but upon the popular confidence in his sound judgment and tack, as shown by the discretion and disjuncy with which he had borne himself during the conflict between Congress and President Johnson. He might have gone further and reminded his readers of Grant's letter to Washburn of August, 1663, dated at Vicksourg, in which he said:

"I never was an abolitionist, not even what would be called and shows."

which he said:

"I never was an abolitionist, not even what would be called anti-slavery, but I try to judge fairly and honestly, and it became patent to my mind early in the rebellion that the north and south could hever live at peace with each other except as one nation, and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace established, I would not therefore be willing to see any settled."

see any settlement until this question is brever settled."

The search for a chief of more pronounced political views, to which Mr. Blaine alludes, must have been a very still hunt, made by a few individuals. The name of Gen, Grant was, in 1868, the refuge of the Republican party, to which alone it could look for deliverance from impending disaster. He had no more desire then to leave the great office of general of the army to become President than he had four years later to leave the white house under the fire of renegade Republican mailgnants.

GRANT AS PRESIDENT.

President Grant in his inaugural address arged the adoption of the fifteenth amendment, which had a short time before been submitted to the states. The importance of this action has never been fully appreciated. The measure had met with opposition in the Sennte from Mr. Stimuer, who claimed (while nobody agreed with him there) that Congress already had power to extend the right of suffigs to the blacks. He never seemed willing that the negro should acquire any rights not doled out under his direction. He predicted a refusal of the ratification of the amendment by states enough to make its adoption impossible—a prediction calculated to aid in its own fulfillment.

The new President undoubtedly gave the amendment an impotus without which its adoption would have been uncertain. His timely advocacy reassured the timid and wavering, and stimulated the vast-throng which, for various reasons, desired to stand well in his estimation at that time. Thus the first act of Graut's civil life had much to do with unfranching a race.

Mr. Blaine's chapter on the Cabinet appointments of Grant, and the selection of a general and lieutenant general of the army, requires no special notice. The sume may be said of the notices, resembling newspaper "pufs," scattered through the book, of the various sensitors and representatives who at each successive Congress entered upon the stage of public life. He annably gives even his smallest men a place in the temple of fame. It makes rather dull reading, however, this attempt to mix upstars and supernumeraries, and to have each feel his due degree of ittiliation. In a few instances his "upper" have been made to appear as stars. But only a stage manager can understand the exigencies of the theater.

Messars Schur and layard will not compilain that they were dismised with mere perfunctory politeness. On the contrary, they are visited and candid consideration, and one for the lease of Sandana. Schue would have regarded this as a broad him the reinstagement of the absent into the treaties as soon as his host yielded the floor to him, and Mr. Summer thus states the story was precise. The language is a desolutely in my memory. 'Mr. President require was precise, and an administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the mest careful and candid consideration.' These were my words. My language, I repeat. The support is a support. It was a marked the deliberately deceived his unsupport, it was a suare of words, which was most discrediable to the man by whom it was set 'im advance.''

An infamous Calumny, Mr. Summer being confronted with an interview attributed to him in a Chicago newspaper, view attributed to him in a Chicago newspaper, view attributed to him in a Chicago newspaper.

THE TENURE-OF-OFFICE ACT.

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The tenure-of-office law, enacted by a Congress which would not impeach Andrew John rots, and yet dared not allow him to be President, was a sort of handculf for a mutheer, and with Grant as President there was no longer any muthy. It would seem that the House, which had the power of impeachment, should either have exercised it or left the President free. But the Senate, in voting for the law, placed the only restraint within its reach upon the reditious and daugerous man upon whom had devolved the office to which abraham Lincoin had the second time been chosen. The modification of the act after the accession of Gen. Grant will not strike the average reader as so extraordinary, or so much of a stullification, as it seems to be in the mind of Mr. Blaine, Isay "seems" because it is entirely possible that be introduces the subject merely for the purpose of giving his old friend, Edmunds, a yocular punch in the ribs. He omits to say that he voted for the act himself, and voted to impeach Johnson for disobeying it. Being speaker be was enabled to avoid voting on its modification alterwards.

The country was satisfied to see the Senate empowered by law to exercise eliferent degrees of its executive power when a violent man was seeking to use the executive office for bad enda, and when a rane and wise man was using it for the cummon good.

SAN DOMINGO.

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"The chief interest in the events of Gen. Grant's size term," says Mr. Blaine, "was slivided between questions of a diplomatic character and those arising from the condition of the south after the reconstruction had been completed." And he leads off with the subject of San Domingo. He informs us that the negotiation for an exation of that republic was opened on the request of its authorities. It resulted in a treaty for the accomplishment of that object, which was signed Nov. 29, 1869; sent to the Scoate in January, and rejected by a tie vote in the following June.

The war waged upon the President in this connection, under the lead of Mr. Sumner, was the first open demonstration by that gentleman The war waged upon the President in this connection, under the lead of Mr. Sumner, was the first open demonstration by that gentleman of the "strong dislike" which Mr. Blaine tells us he "had previously conceived to Gen. Grant on account of some personal grievance, either faucied or real." The energetic malignity with which it was conducted justified Mr. Conkling in suggesting that an investigation might show that "the President and others had been assaled, not with the weapons of the assassin." It raged from December, 1880, gathering new impetus in every estumny that could be invenied by malice or prompted by party hate, until it search into that assassin. The secret into that assaud enterprise dubbed by its projectors, with mercless though unconscious from, "the Liberal merowment" of 1872. Its consequences were far-reacting, umbracing the final triumph over national authority in the south, by which the amendments to the constitution became a dead lett; excepting only as to chatted slavery.

Mr. Blaine Ende no room in his history for any account of the strangle over the San Domingo treats. He simply tells us that it was rejected. And yet he had all the record before him. In a message from which he quotes he could have found these words of Gen. Grant: "As Soon as B became publicly snown that such a treaty had been negotiated, the attention of the case, and, with aspersions upon those whose duly had connected them with

Zech Chandler told the Senate, on the 21st of December, 1876, that he had never heart a more "Pretial essault" made upon the President more "Prutal essault" made upon the President, even during war times, than had then jost failen from the lips of Senator Samage-and the International of the President in executive session while the treaty was pending, Mr. Chandler findigmently replied: "Il desire to say that his recent in secret session enbatantially corresponds with his speech to-day in open session."

Thus it was not alone in executive session, that the President was thus assailed. A pretent was found for bringing the whole subject into open session by means of a side issue. An alterican named flatch, resident in San Domingo, was found in complicity with compiration and the state of the president was the scale of the subject into open session by means of a side issue. An alterican named flatch, resident in San Domingo, was found in complicity with compiration of the president and the Secretary of State, with both of whom the committee on foreign relations must often coffer.

Mr. Biame has succeeded in concenting his rise over ment and extreme the baselessed in concenting his rise over ment and the secretary of State, with the president was the scale of the committee on foreign relations must often coffer.

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Gen. Babcock, who had negotiated the busis of the treaty, was conniving at his detertion, because of the opposition to annexation. This statement being read in the Senate, Mr. Sammer leadily exclaimed, "He ought to be calculated to the calculation of the calcu Gen. Babcock, who had pegotiated the basis of the treaty, was completed.

characterised as a "brutal assault" on the President.
Said Oliver P. Morton:
"A series of absaults have been made on the President from time to time, ever since his inauguration; scarce has one subsided before arother has begin. And I think he has been treated with a bitterness of persecution and a torrent of calumny that have not been lavished upon any Executive of the United States perhaps since the days of Thomas Jeffurson. "
The arrows of calumny have fallen harmless at his feet."

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During the detate it was clearly established that Mr. Summer gave the President to understand that the trenty would have his cheerful suppers. Col. John W. Forney was present at the interview and said of it afterwards, 'I was present at Mr. Summer's residence when President Grant called and explained the Dominican treaty to the senator, and although I cannot recall the exact words of the latter! understood him to say that he would obserfully support the treaty. He further said that Mr. Summer's indonement of the treaty went far to stimulate him in the support he gave to it in the newspapers he was conducting. Gou. Babecek, who went to him the following Monday from the President with the text of the treaty, declared that he "colline to the him to the supporting the administration in matter."

But instead of supporting the administration he made the treaty the point of attack upon it, and, as we have seen, conducted his opposition with a virtuence, which indicated personal hostility to the President, and a determination to biacken and destroy him if possible.

Enid Senator Chandler: "It would hardly be

Faid Senator Chandler: "It would hardly be supposed from what fell from the lips of the senator from Massachusetts to day that he was the first senator consulted by the President upon the subject of the San Domingo treaty, and yet such is the fact; " \* " and he certainly left upon the mind of the President the impression that he was favorably disposed toward that treaty."

SUMMER'S ADMISSION.

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impression that he was favorably disposed toward that treaty."

Mr. Summer bimself in the open Senate, in realying to this statement by Mr. Chandler, and Dec. 21, 1570;

"The Fresident of the United States did me the honor to call at my house—it was nearly a year ago, during the recess. Shortly after coming into the room he alluded to certain new treaties aiready negotiated. \* \* \* He proceeded with an explanation, which I very soon interrupted, saying: By the way, Mr. President, it is very hard to turn out Gen. Ashley (the governor of Montana). I have just received a letter from the governor, and I hope I shall not take too great a liberty, Mr. President, if I read it. \* \* I commenced the letter and read two pages or more, when I thought the Fresident was uneasy, and I felt that perhaps I was taking too great a liberty with him in my own bouse, but I was irreststibly impelied by loyalty to an absent friend, while I was glad of this opportunity of diverting attention from the treaties. " (There were two treaties, one for annexation, and one for the lease of Samana).

Some would have regarded this as a broad that that the reinstatement of the absent friend would be expected in return for support of the treaties. The President returned to the treaties as soon as his host yielded the floor to him, and Mr. Sunner thus states the assurance he gave in reply:

"My reply was precise. The language is fixed absolutely in my nemory. Mr. President, I said, 'I am an administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration. These were my words. My language, I repeat, was precise, well considered, and chosen in advance."

It is clear that he deliberately deceived his on send

Mr. Summer being confronted with an interview attributed to him in a Chicago newspaper, two months old, denied its correctness, but said that portion of it was "aubstantially true," which reads thus:

"Why, a friend of mine, who has been down there, siys that the whole coast of the bay of Samana is staked off into lots and marked "Carneau" and 'Babcock' and 'Baez,' and that one or two particularly large ones are marked 'Grant."

one or two particularly large ones are marked 'Grant.''
And all this in an argument against the appointment of a commission to investigate the incts of this very calumny among others. Senator Edmunds, commenting on this outrage, said: 'His knowledge of human affairs is not so small as to lead him to imagine that, telling such a tale as he now anys he did tell, the world would not believe that he intended to have it understood that the President of the United States was corruptly interested in land grants in Samana.'

GRANT'S VINDICATION. GRANT'S VINDICATION.

grants in Samana."

Grant's Vindication.

Consress authorized the appoinment of the coumission, and the President appointed exsenator Wade, of Ohio; Andrew D. White, then president of Cornell University, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe, of Massachusetts, the near friend of Mr. Sumner. The commissioners, after investigation, unanimously sustained the President and completely vindicated him from the saversions of his commiss.

In transmitting to Congress the report of the commissioners, earn. Grant said: "Other eminent clifzens were requested to accompany the commission in order that the people night have the benefit of their views. Students of science and correspondents of the press, without regard to political opinion, were invited to join the expedition, and their unmbers were limited only by the capacity of the vessel."

"The mere rejection by the Senate of a treaty negotiated by the President only indicates a difference of opinion." \*But when such rejection takes place simultaneously with charges openly made of corruption on the part of the President or those employed by bins, the case is different. Indeed in such a case the honor of the nation demands investigation."

ELAINE'S APOLOGY FOR GRANT'S ASSALLANT.

These "Western and the president."

BLAINE'S APOLOGY FOR GRANT'S ASSAULANT.

case the honor of the nation demands investigation."

BLAINE'S AFOLOGY FOR GRANT'S ASSAILANT.

These "printed remarks of the Fresident," mays Mr. Blaine, "were understood as refarring to the speech made by Mr. Sumnor" upon the resolution to appoint the commission. Then he rays, "Public opinion did not justify the occurse of Mr. Sumner. It was regarded as an exhibition of temper unworthy his high position, and his speech was distinguished by a tone not proper to be employed toward the President of the United States. But he had not imported, as Gen. Grant assumed, ampersumal corruption to him. On the contrary, he considered the questionable course of Gen. Babcock to be without instruction."

And pray what had Secretary Fish's letter of instructions to Gen. Babcock to do with the infamous secusation that Grant had corruptly obtained lois on Samans bay? And have ownlined Gen. Grant truthfully assume that a speech in print before him contained what it did not contain." Mr. Baine, in his great saxioty to shield Mr. Sumner, for a purpose, accuses Gen. Grant of misepresenting a printed speech. I have quoted the imputation of corruption contain is din that speech, with it e comments of Senator Edmunds as to the sole and unavoidable construction belonging to it.

Mr. Blaine has page 668, where he because the election of another than Mr. Sumner to be chairman of the Senator committee on lor-cipt relations. This occurred at the opening of the Congress next following the extraordinary atterances of Mr. Sumner against the President, Mr. Blaine says: "The cause of his displacement may be found in the angre contentions to which the scheme of american the election of another than Mr. Sumner to be chairman of the Senato committee on forcipt relations. This occurred at the opening of the Congress next following the extraordinary atterances of Mr. Sumner against the President of the United States, though sever so intended by the Missockastic seachod." He says the blow was more cruel than that of Brook's filteen years before, "as a

personal affront," was intended by Mr. Summer in denomicing Gen. Grant. as a "ertiminal," a "Cassar," and the receiver of lots at Samans hay in exchange for an official act. He may be sincere in this opinion. Every man knows best wast words would seem to fit u. in "ourry with them a personal affront," or to "impute personal corroughton.

The people of Massachuvatis voted in 1872 as between Grant and his Republican friends and between Grant and his Republican friends and the Democratic party combined. The result was more than a two-thirds vote for Grant. Thus: Grant, 193,472; Greeley (supported by Summer), 59,500.

Grant, 103,472; Greeley (supported by Sumner), 59,200.

It is late in the day for Mr. Blaine to seek a reversal of the judgment of the Republican party as between these two men, now both removed from the world's stage. His attempt can only be explained on the theory that, with an eye strictly intent on the board that if the lingings that it may be the charm with which to conjure in Massachusetts in 1988. The 'machine' of the Republican party there may be in the hands of the men who voted with the minority in 1872, but in no state in the Union can the people's hearts be reached by accusing Grant of having "assumed" what was not true, in order to humiliate a man who had given him no cause.

A review of Mr. Blaine a history of his times must necessarily consist largely of what he has omitted to say even upon the subjects of which he treats. I think I have filustrated this fact in the above presentation of the San Domingo episode.

The next matter in order will be his measer.

in the above presentation of the San Doming cpisode.

The next matter in order will be his meage statement of the struggle of Grant's administration to protect citizons at the south in the political rights. This wist involve the record his attempt in 1871 to prevent legislatio which, very shortly afterward, he prudent supported, and of which the reader of his boo would infer that he had been a sealous charplen from the start.

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The second half of such tax, where not previously paid, will become due and payable on the 1st day of MAY next, and if not paid before the 1st day of MAY next, and if not paid before the 1st day of MAY next, and if not paid before the 1st day of MAY next, and if not paid before the 1st day of MAY next, and a penalty of 2 per centum upon the amount thereof shall be added, and the same, with other taxes due and in arrears, will be listed for advertisement and tax sale in the manner prescribed by existing law.

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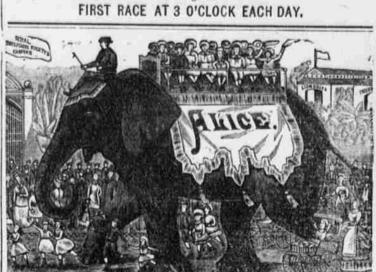
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